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" They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

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THE BADAGAS OF THE NILAGIRI DISTRICT:—1.

101 Of all the original inhabitants of the Nilagiri District, the Badagas are the most remarkable in every way. Their settlement in
174 these hills is not as ancient as that of the Tôdas, Irulas, and Kurumbas, for they are only comparatively recent settlers from the Maisûr country. About the history of their settlement Mr. Grigg, in his *District Manual*, (p. 218), speaks as follows:—

"The Badagas or *Northmen* are the descendants of Kanarese colonists "from the Carnatic country known now as North Coimbatore and South "Mysore which at one time formed an important part of the ancient Konga "kingdom. It is commonly reported that the principal migrations took "place about three hundred years ago on the breaking up of the Vijaya-"nagar Empire. * * * * These Kanarese colonists probably migrated to "the Hills when driven from home by famine, political turmoil, or local "oppression."

Thus in Mr. Grigg's opinion these three causes,—famine, political turmoil and local oppression,—each by itself or all combined must have driven those people to find a more convenient home in the Hills three centuries ago, and the same writer gives several proofs of the fact that they must have migrated to the Nilagiris about the time when there existed a Kanarese supremacy over these parts of India.

463 The Badagas have all crafts and professions within their own community. They have their own barbers, carpenters, washermen, blacksmiths, scavengers, brick-makers; in short, they are a self-contained community having among themselves representatives of every art or profession that adds to the comfort of life. It is note-
[174] worthy that these artizans serve only their own caste people—the Badagas—and never others, for this is, in my opinion, one of the best indications to prove that, as a race of colonists in an unknown land, they must have brought with them all crafts and arts to make their stay in the new country to which they went as comfortable as possible.

174 They must have come as agriculturists in the expectation that they would find in these high regions land lying waste in plenty which they could easily occupy and cultivate, and thus lead a life of plenty and happiness. In these high expectations they must have been thoroughly disappointed. At the very first point of settlement, they must have met with opposition from the Tôdas who were already masters of the soil. But instead of retiring and returning

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to their own country they preferred to settle down as the cultivators of the Tôḍa-lands, acknowledging the Tôḍas as their landlords, and themselves taking up the humble position of farmers under them; and the lazy Tôḍa who was extremely glad to get people to cultivate his lands was thoroughly satisfied with this arrangement. Even to this day the Baḍagas, in acknowledgment of their subordination to the Tôḍas, pay their *Gûḍu*—their tenants' fee—to these landlords of the Nîlagiris.

Another fact that seems to indicate that the Baḍagas are immigrants is that a crude kind of polyandry exists among them. Baḍaga society allows this practice, and it is not uncommon when a man has five sons for only one of them to be married, though Baḍagas when questioned about it stoutly deny the existence of this custom. If the marriage tie is in this respect somewhat lax, the Baḍaga rules in other ways are very strict, and a woman would be at once out-casted who went astray with a person of a different caste. The existence of this custom among the Baḍagas is, as has been said, probably to be explained by the fact that they are immigrants. Naturally most of those who came up from Maisûr would be men, and the hardships consequent upon the great change of climate and habits of life would tell more severely upon the women than upon the hardier male sex. The practice of polyandry having thus been allowed to grow up obtained the sanction of custom, and still prevails as a caste-rule to which little or no objection is made.

This custom, the existence of all crafts and arts among themselves, and the payments of *Gûḍu* in recognition of the Tôḍas as their landlords, are three very strong proofs of the contention that the Baḍagas are only colonists on these hills, and are not the original inhabitants.

There are several sects among the Baḍagas. Mr. Grigg enumerates eighteen—seven major and eleven minor. From the results of my researches I consider that all these eighteen may be simplified into six—five high-caste and one low-caste.

They are

1. Uḍaya
2. Hâruva
3. Adhikâri
4. Kanaka
5. Baḍaga

(High caste.)

6. Toraya ... (Low caste.)

Uḍayas are Lingâyats in religion and carry the *Śivaliṅga*—the

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Siva image—tied round their necks. They claim to be superior to all the Baḍagas and are regarded as such. They are priests to all the Baḍagas of the Liṅgâyat class and are strict vegetarians. They do not intermarry with any of the other high-caste Baḍaga sects. Uḍaya was and is the title assumed by the Maisûr Râjas, and those Baḍagas by being thus designated as a caste, claim superior blood in their veins.

Next in rank come the Hâruvas. From their name being so closely connected with the *Âryas*—the respectable—and from their habit of wearing the Brahmanical thread, we are warranted in believing that they must have been originally the poor Brâhman priests of the Baḍagas that migrated to this country, though they have now got themselves closely mingled with the Baḍagas, as is always the lot of an unfortunate few in the midst of many. These Hâruvas also are strict vegetarians, and act as priests. Hâruvas originally did not intermarry with other Baḍaga sects, though now there is a good deal of laxity in the observance of this rule.

The Uḍayas and Hâruvas and, to a certain extent, the Adhikâris also, are vegetarians. The other two high castes, and of course the low-caste Torayas also, have no objection of any kind to eating flesh. It is also said that the vegetarian Adhikâri, if he marries into a flesh-eating caste of the Baḍagas, betakes himself to this latter diet very readily.

The Torayas are the last in the list and they are regarded as sons and servants to the five high-caste Baḍaga sects—to the Hâruvas especially. We shall as we proceed have occasion to notice the several services which a Toraya has to render to the Baḍagas. This last sect is the lowest in the scale and they are prohibited from intermarrying with the other or high-caste Baḍagas, as long as they are sons to them. They are, as we have already remarked, flesh-eaters. The Uḍayas, Adhikâris, and Kaṇakas are Liṅgâyats in religion and the other three—the Hâruvas, Baḍagas and Torayas are Saivites.

Having thus spoken about their caste divisions we shall next turn our attention to their physical appearance, their character, and their manner of life. The Baḍagas are as a rule slightly built people. The hard weather and the severe climate with which they had to struggle ten generations ago, during their first settlement, joined to the fear of having little to eat, have left well marked traces in their physique. They are labourers from their youth to their death, for, as they settled down as agriculturists, labour in the

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142 field has been their profession for many generations. Mr. Grigg
[147] says "This may account for their extreme thinness; one meets with very few who can be called stout."

562 Among the Badagas the position of the women is somewhat
462 different from what it is among most peoples. Every Badaga has a few acres to cultivate but he does not mainly occupy himself with them, for his wife does all the outdoor farm work, while he is engaged
562 otherwise in earning something in hard cash. To a Badaga
465 therefore his wife is his capital. Her labour in the field is considered to be worth one rupee per day, while an average male Badaga earns merely three annas, or only a fifth part of what his wife really earns as her wages, or is calculated to earn. A Badaga woman who has not her own acres to cultivate finds work
562 on some other lands. She thus works hard for her husband and
461 her family and is quite content with the coarsest food—the *Korali*
142 *(Panicum Italicum)* flour—leaving the better food to the male members of the family. This fact, and the hard work the Badaga women have to perform, may perhaps account to some extent for the slight build of the Badagas as a race. The male Badaga too
461 works in the field, or at his own craft if he is not a cultivator, but
462 his love for ready cash is always so great that even if he had a
562 harvest to gather the next morning, he would run away as a cooly for two annas wages.

181 Having very few wants beyond a few cloths for their dress and a few copper or brass utensils, and accustomed always to frugal habits in their diet and other things, the Badagas are now the most thriving race of all the inhabitants of the Nilagiri District.
142 Their poor dress in a cold climate, their enormous industry,
461 and their continued exposure account for their thinness. It is interesting to notice that as a rule one never sees a stout Badaga or a lean Tôda. The majority of the latter are sunk in idleness. Nothing would be more welcome to a Tôda than to sit facing the sun from morning to evening, with a thick dirty cloth thrown over him, while the Badagas on the other hand are extremely industrious.

342 Though thus poor in his dress and household utensils a Badaga always takes care to have a comfortable and convenient house. It is always a snug house with neat rooms, and all the houses are built on such a uniform pattern that no difference of any kind can be noticed between any two houses: they coincide as exactly as the nests built by the same kind of birds. The first portion, at the entrance, is a small hall, called *Edirmanè*,—front house. The

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342 roof of it is well planked, and over it is another small room called *Mêlâdu*—upper storey—which serves as a store-house. Next to the *Edirmanê*, on the right, is the *Hâgôṭu*—the milk house—a place of worship to the Baḍagas, into which the women are not allowed to enter; and adjoining it is the kitchen, called *Hole* by the Baḍagas; the last of all the rooms is the *Pillê*—bath-room. Thus the front room, a store-room over it, the milk-house, a kitchen and a bath-room complete the arrangement of a Baḍaga house.

352 The Baḍaga invests some money in that most necessary piece of furniture in a cold climate,—a family cot to sleep upon. It is always a broad thick plank of some fine wood—teak, jack or ebony, and is the only substantial movable property of a Baḍaga.

121 We shall now describe the Baḍaga ceremonies and rites, and the best way to exhaust them is to trace an individual from the time of his birth to his death. Of course some difference must exist in the case of males and females, and these we shall note as we proceed.

852 In the case of a boy little or almost nothing is done to the child as a ceremony till his ninth year. On the third month after his (551) birth he is given a name, and his head is shaved. But nothing further occurs till the baby has grown into a boy of nine years. Then

881 the initiation of the boy into the duties of a Baḍaga—milking the buffaloes—is performed. In describing the Baḍaga house I have already made mention of the *Hâgôṭu*—the milk house—a place of

(542) worship in which the milk is stored up. Females are debarred

(858) from entrance into it, and so are the male children till they undergo this ceremony which we are about to describe.

Early in the morning of the day appointed for this ceremony the boy is bathed and appears in his holiday dress. A she-buffalo with her calf stands before his house waiting to be milked. The parents or other elder relations of the boy and those who have been invited to be present on the occasion, or whose duty it is to be present, then conduct the boy to the spot. The father or some one of the agnatic kindred gives into the hands of the boy a bamboo vessel called *Hone* which is already very nearly full of fresh-drawn milk. The boy receives the vessel with both his hands and is conducted to the buffalo. The elder relations show him the process, and the boy sitting down milks a small quantity into the *Hone*. This is his first initiation into the duty of milking; and it is that he may not commit mistakes on the very first day of his milking that the *Hone*

(747) is previously filled almost to the brim. It is extremely curious to see that this is observed as a regular ceremony, and it indicates

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that originally this milking of the buffaloes must have been the main vocation of the Baḍaga. The boy then takes the vessel thus filled with milk into his house and pours some of the sacred fluid into all his household eating vessels—a sign that from that day he has taken upon himself the responsibility of supplying the family with milk. He also throws some milk on the faces of his parents and relatives. They receive it very kindly and bless him, each in his or her turn, and request him to continue thus to milk the buffaloes and bring plenty and prosperity to the house. After this the boy enters the milk-house—the *Hâgôṭu*—and places milk in his *Hoṇe* there. From this moment and all through his life he may enter into that room, and this is therefore considered a very important ceremony.

The next important rite among the Liṅgâyat sect of the Baḍagas is the wearing of the *Liṅga*, or the initiation of the boy into his religion, which takes place about the thirteenth birthday of the boy. The priest conducts this ceremony and the elder relations of the family have only to arrange for the performance of it. The priests belong to the Uḍaya sect of the Baḍagas. They live in their own villages, and are specially sent for and come up to the boy's village for the occasion. The ceremony is done generally to several Baḍaga boys of almost the same age on the same day. On the day appointed all the people in the Baḍaga village where this ceremony is to take place observe a strict fast. The cows and buffaloes are all milked very early in the morning and not a drop of the milk thus collected is given out or taken by even the tenderest children of the village who may require it very badly. The Uḍaya priest who has been invited arrives near the village between 10 and 12 A.M. on the day appointed. He never goes into the village, but stops near some rivulet adjacent to it. The relations of the boy or boys approach him with a new basket containing five measures of uncooked rice and pulse, ghee, &c., and a quarter of a rupee,—one fanam, as it is generally designated. The priest sits near the water-course and lights up a fire on the bank. Perfumes are thrown profusely into it and this is almost the only ceremony before the fire. The boys whose turn it is to receive the *Liṅga* that day are all directed to bathe in the river. A plantain leaf cut into one foot square is placed in front of the fire towards the east of it. The *Liṅgas*, kept in readiness by the parents of the boys, are now received by the priest and placed on the leaves. The boys are asked to wash them—each one the *Liṅga* meant for his wearing—in water and milk. Then comes the time for the expenditure of all the collected milk of

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795 the morning. Profusely the white fluid is poured till the whole rivulet is nothing but a stream of milk. After the *Liṅgas* are thus washed the boys give them to the priest, who places them in his left palm 795 and, covering them with his right, utters, with all the solemnity 782 due to the occasion, the following incantation, while the boys and the whole village assembled there listen to it with the most profound 539 respect and veneration.

"Śiva Hara O! Basava
Pañchaṅgiri Adhipati
Âr sâvara kîrttige mûru
sâvara andu lakshu
tompattâru sâvara gaṇa—
galuke Nichyapûjya Nîr
koḍuva Nilammatâya
Śiva Liṅgavô guru pâda
Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva,"

meaning:—O Śiva, Hara, Basava (different names of Śiva) the lord of all the six thousand and three thousand names and glories, the lord of one *lakh* and ninety-six thousand *gaṇas* (body-guards of Siva), the donor of water, the daily-to-be-worshipped, the husband of Pârvati. O Lord, O Siva Liṅga, thy feet alone are our resort. O Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva.

795 While pronouncing this prayer the priest now and then removes his right palm, and pours water and milk round the sacred fire and over the *Liṅgas* resting in his left palm. The priest then places each of the *Liṅgas* in a cloth of one cubit square, rolls it up and requests 1782 the boys to hold out their right palms. The young Badaga receives it, repeats the prayer given above five times, and during each repetition the palm holding the *Liṅga* tied up in the cloth is carried nearer and nearer to his neck. When that is reached (and it is 795 reached on the fifth utterance of the incantation) the priest ties up 782 the ends of the rolled up cloth containing the Śiva emblem loosely round the boy's neck; while the latter is all the while kneeling down holding by both of his hands the feet of the priest. After the *Liṅga* has been tied the priest blesses him thus,

"*Ondu sâvara hâgi ennu dina Śivaliṅgattê kâpadi hâlu kuḷi ûṭamâḍi kuḍi hechchi muḍi hechchi bayil hechchi payil hechchi sâvara kâla badukappâ baduku,*"

meaning:—May one become one thousand to you; may you ever preserve in you the *Śivaliṅga*, and if you do so you will have plenty of milk and food, and you will prosper for one thousand years in name and fame, kine and corn.

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If more than one have to receive the *Liṅga* on the same day each of them has to undergo this ceremony. After the ceremony is over the priest returns to his village with the rice, &c., and fees. Every house in which a boy has received the *Liṅga* has to give a grand feast that day. Even the poorest Baḍaga must feed five other Baḍagas at least.

Thus closes the Liṅga-wearing ceremony of the Baḍaga boy, after which he passes through no additional ceremony. He spends his time now in milking the buffaloes, now in the fields, and is thus always preparing himself to become in the future the responsible head of a Baḍaga family.

Before we speak of the ceremonies connected with the courtship and marriage of a Baḍaga youth and of those which are due to him at the time of and after his death, which we shall dwell upon at their proper place, we shall turn our attention to a Baḍaga female-child and trace her from her birth to her marriage. As soon as a female-child is born, some of her relations who are in a position to contract a marriage relationship bespeak the baby, and arrange for her to be married at the proper age to such and such a boy. In consideration of this they give Rs. 10 as a fee. This is everything to the girl and her price cannot afterwards be enhanced even though when she grows up she may be worth more—even as much as Rs. 200 which is the highest rate prevailing among them. Even when a girl is thus bespoken, all the forms connected with the courtship and marriage which I am about to describe are observed except the one of handing over the price of the girl, which in such a case has already been paid. This custom of contracting relationship is rare but it does occur in ten out of a hundred cases. Violations of this kind of marriage are considered very ungentlemanly but they are not infrequent. The fine for such violations is after all very light, being merely the return of the Rs. 10 formerly paid for the girl when the infant was bespoken.

Let us now go back to the baby and suppose her not to be thus bespoken. She has no rites or any observances to undergo till she becomes of a marriageable age. She then leaves her parents' house and goes to a building called the *Hola-Guḍi*. This *Hola-Guḍi* is a public place reserved exclusively for women and grown up girls, and is a building that every Baḍaga village contains. She is presented with a new cloth by her parents and remains in the *Hola-Guḍi* till the next full-moon day. All the families in the village bring to her one measure of wheat or *Koraḷi* flour from each

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house every day, and all the girls of the village assemble there, cook and eat together. On the morning of the next full-moon day she bathes, receives again a new cloth from her parents and sits outside the house till the hour when the moon rises in the evening. When she sees the moon appear above the horizon she enters her house. Five old females accompany her and conduct her into the house, where the mother standing at the threshold thus welcomes her daughter back, saying,—

Gaṇḍettu, makkettu, mane kaṭṭi sukhavâgi badu-kammâ baḍuku,

meaning:—May you, my darling, soon receive a husband, bring forth a son, build your own house and live happy.

The mother now gives her a dish containing rice, milk and curds. This is done in the outer house, for the girl is all this time only at the threshold and has not yet entered the inner house. After eating a little of what has been given her by her mother she has to proceed to every house in the village, the eldest female member of which pronounces upon her the same blessing and gives her the same dish to eat. She receives these and pretends to eat a mouthful in every house and then returns home. The mother now stands waiting anxiously her daughter's return. She takes her girl in, and now the pots and other utensils of the family may be touched. This closes this ceremony, the only one that a woman has to undergo before her marriage, and a few days after it is performed the mark which proclaims to the whole Baḍaga world that the girl is of a marriageable age is put on her forehead. It consists of four different dots, thus:—

It is called technically among them *Hasil-hâkulvadu*, meaning tatooing the head, but I have not been able to find any one who could explain to me the meaning of these dots. I surmise that they are the end marks of a trident, the favourite weapon of Śiva. As soon as this mark is put upon a girl's forehead it is a caste proclamation, as it were, that any one may claim her hand in marriage, and that the young Baḍaga in search of a wife may pay a visit to her father's house.

In the Uḍaya class there is nothing of the nature of courtship, but the father settles the bride or bridegroom for his child. The girl to be married is brought to the village in which the boy chosen

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585 lives, and is kept in a separate house. A good day is fixed for the marriage. Pandals are erected, grand preparations go on and the marriage takes place in the regular way that we shall describe presently. Among all the other Baḍagas what may be called court-
584 ship prevails. Child marriages never take place among Baḍagas,
[184] though, as we have seen, a child is often bespoken for marriage from the very day of its birth.

In the other Baḍaga castes the parents have nothing to do in the preliminary arrangements of a marriage settlement. The young Baḍaga leaving home always takes a friend with him when going
584 out in search of a wife. He has to observe certain omens on his
787 way to the girl's house. The sight of flesh or an empty pot or a single jackal is always considered a bad omen. Filled pots or a pair of jackals coming from an opposite direction is considered a good omen, indicating a happy union. Thus the way and the nature of the omens are the first points to be observed, and to see that the anxious young man in search of a wife does not ignore these facts, a friend, but really a spy, tracks him to the house of the girl whom
584 he intends to ask to marry him. The parents or the other elder relatives of the girl understand from the presents which the youth brings, and from the friend by whom he is accompanied, that he has come in search of a wife, and they leave the young pair to meet and be happy in each other's company. The young man spends four or five days there, and if the girl is to his liking he temporarily takes leave of his future wife's relations and returns home in haste to complete the marriage arrangements. If the pair do not like each other, that they shall never marry each other is settled then and there, and that is the end of it.

When they like each other, the young man, as we have seen, returns to his parents, and sends them, or some other elder relatives if his parents are not alive, to settle the marriage. These proceed to the girl's house and falling at the feet of the parents of the girl request them to give her in marriage to their son. Generally the mother of the boy asks her future daughter-in-law whether she will marry her son and tells her that she has plenty to eat or as she would put it—*Timbadu niṅgênu koravillâ.* The girl respectfully replies that she will do as her parents order, and, though she has almost always been carefully tutored up, her answer appears to be given in an extremely natural and simple manner.

585 A day is then fixed, and the marriage is always performed in the bridegroom's house. Five, nine or thirteen women relatives

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of the girl with twenty-five male relatives bring the girl to the future husband's village on the day appointed for the marriage. Three or five women related to the bridegroom receive her. The girl stands opposite to the house of the bridegroom. An elderly lady of the bridegroom's family brings from inside the house two big pots. One she keeps to herself and the other she gives to the girl. All the while the Torayas and Kôṭas who are the mighty musicians of the occasion play music without cessation, and to the accompaniment of this melody they all proceed to the river. Both the pots are filled with water, and the elderly woman and the young would-be wife enter the bridegroom's house with water, while music is incessantly pouring out from the heavy pipes of the Kôṭa musicians and the mouths of the Baḍaga females. The pots are placed inside in the central room, and then the girl falls at the feet of every one assembled there to take part in the marriage ceremonies and she becomes from that day forward a member of that house. The elderly lady by taking her out to the river to fetch water has taught her as it were her household duties in her future husband's house. Before the wife is brought down from her parents' house a small fee, called generally the cloth fee,—*Śila-haṇê*—which is five fanams or 1¼ Rupees is given, together with her price which may be a pretty large amount, varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 200 according to the qualifications of the girl as a good labouring woman in the field. A feast is celebrated in the house on the marriage day at which all people assembled there sit down to eat. This is the whole ceremony of the Baḍaga marriage and the feast closes it. Sometimes a marriage badge—especially among the Uḍaya class—is tied round the neck of the bride. It consists of a gold medal containing the representations of Śiva and Pârvati.

The tie thus formed, however, is not of an absolutely binding nature, for though the young pair now begin to live as husband and wife they may separate at any moment after the marriage described above, provided the *Śila-haṇê* or cloth fee, and the price for the wife originally paid, are returned to the husband. No present or anything to show good relationship is made by the wife's parents to the husband or *vice versâ*, till the wife is about to become a mother. Then a ceremony is performed which is called *Śimanta*. This name is a pure Âryan one and the Baḍagas must have borrowed it from the high caste Hindus. This ceremony which is called *Śimanta* goes also by another more significant name of *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭêdu* among the Baḍagas, meaning the ceremony of the tying of the cord

585 round the neck of the woman. It is not merely a cord but the very marriage badge strung to the cord which is tied; even if she has had it tied round her neck on the occasion of the marriage ceremony she must now have it tied on again on the *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭêdu* occasion, and this latter alone is the true marriage badge. It is on (425) this occasion that the bridegroom receives presents from his wife's people, which generally consist of a house, a pair of he-buffaloes and a pair of she-buffaloes. The last two must be given by even the poorest Badaga father-in-law. Whether the young couple receive a house and a larger number of buffaloes than the single pair that must be given depends upon the position and wealth of the father of the bride.

This ceremony of the *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭêdu* is very curious though extremely simple. The relations of both sides are seated and the pair sit in their midst while of course the Kôṭa and Toraya music is going on. The eldest relation, father or brother of the husband, gets up and says:—*Kaṇṇi hâkalâ nenta hâkalâ*, meaning:—May the string be thrown round the neck; may it be thrown? And the other side reply:—*Hâkappâ hâku*—Throw, sir, throw. Then the cord is passed round and the ceremony of the *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭêdu* is closed with a feast.

585 After the celebration of this ceremony the husband and wife cannot separate of their own accord without going to the divorce-586 court in their village, an institution of which we shall speak later on. Thus this is the most important ceremony in the Badaga society and it is full of meaning. In a community where the relationship between the sexes is very lax there is little or no guarantee that the marriage tie will be regarded as binding. But when the wife is soon to become a mother it becomes necessary for her position as the female representative of the family to be recognised. Thus much importance attaches to the *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭêdu* ceremony, and once it is performed the woman cannot leave her husband as lightly as she might after the marriage and before it was performed. Previously she might have done so of her own accord; but now only the community represented in a court can dissolve the marriage.

121 In my next article I shall show the importance of these village councils and describe the part they play in the life of the community, and then I shall give an account of the funeral rites of these interesting people.

S. M. Natesa Sastri.

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victory of all right are dreams of romance which can visit no eyes open to the light of day. . . . In order to keep an equilibrium between the social and the personal happiness, and prevent either from disturbing the other, a man must desire nothing that does not accord with the public wish. He must be a thorough conformist to the opinions or methods of his party or his age; if he deviates from this he is equally punished whether he sinks to a lower level or rises to a higher. The cry of the multitude, nay of the Chief Priests and Pharisees, "Away with Him!" "Crucify Him!" is as ready for the Saviours as for the Malefactors of the world; and if the end of life is to make the most of its pleasures and minimise its pains, there is no room for the devotee of compassion, whose heart is irresistibly drawn to the haunts of sin and misery, and takes on it the burthen of countless woes besides its own, and bleeds for every wound it cannot heal".

HIRALAL HALDAR.

THE BADAGAS OF THE NILAGIRI DISTRICT:—II.

A STUDENT of history can not fail to be struck by the resemblance there is between many of the institutions of the Badagas and those of some of the old Âryans. The Badagas are indeed not Âryans. They are, as we said in a previous article, colonists from Maisûr. The name Badaga is a Kanarese corruption of a Telugu word *Vaḍuga**—the name of a class of Telugu-speaking Sûdras. These Vaḍugas were an agricultural class, of strong and muscular physique, and they were always very ready to enlist in the armies of the rajahs of Southern India, who were glad to have such soldiers among their troops. The Vijayanagar sovereigns especially took a great fancy to this sturdy and warlike race and were always ready to enlist Vaḍugas, and to raise even to the highest position in their armies such as distinguished themselves. Some Vaḍugas rose to the rank of general, and sometimes they were sent down as governors of different provinces that recognised the Kings of Vijayanagar as suzerain. It was thus that Viśvanâtha Nâyakka was sent to Madura in 1559 A.D., where he soon constituted himself an independent chieftain and founded the Nâyakka

* Compare with this the word Vaḍuvu, which means Telugu.

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101 dynasty of Madura. To these Nâyakkas or Vaḍugas the Baḍagas were allied, and they were thus originally the Śûdras of the Maisûr
174 country. They were, however, completely Âryanised before they commenced their march three centuries ago to the district where
[101] they now live, and it is therefore not surprising that they should have brought with them many of the ancient Âryan institutions.

(620) Chief among these may be noted the system of local self-government that even yet exists among them though in an impaired form. From the traces that are still left it is evident that the village community system prevailed among them in a complete state in the old days of their settlement on the Nîlagiris.

622 Each village has a head man called the Monegar. He is gene-
(556) rally the richest man in the village, and is regarded as the highest authority upon all subjects. Before the year 1820, while the
(175) Nîlagiri district had not yet been made a separate district but only formed a single tâlûk in the Coimbatore district, the power of
(631) these Monegars was much greater than it is now. At that time communication was difficult and much of the Nîlagiris had not yet been opened up, and in the different villages the Monegar was the paramount power. Stories are current even to the present day of a Monegar of one village who ordered an individual who had disobeyed his orders to be covered with a slab of stone. Unless the disobedience was of a most flagrant nature and really amounted to a determined disregard of constituted authority, such a high-handed exercise of autocratic power must have been resented by the people, for the Monegar was not an irresponsible autocrat, but a
[631] ruler holding his power by the goodwill of the whole community. The British Government has made these Monegars officials in connection with the revenue administration of the villages, but apart from this they still have certain important duties to perform in connection with the social life of the Baḍaga community. In all religious and social questions the Baḍagas go to the village Monegar. If the question is a simple one he settles it himself, if it is intricate he calls a village council to which the elders of the village are summoned. After taking their opinion he passes an order which must be obeyed, for his word is law.

622 Questions of partition, of cultivation and of outcasting, disputes
623 and other minor matters, are thus settled by the village council with the Monegar as its head. It is, however, in questions arising in
(620) connexion with marriage that the Monegar and his council play
1584 their most important part. When a girl in one village is going to

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622 584 [623] be married to a boy in another village, the parents of the young people have to represent the matter to the Monegars of their respective villages. This is done after the courtship stage has been reached and the young people have agreed to marry one another, but even then if for any reason the Monegar forbids the contracting of the marriage the matter must at once stop, and no appeal to any higher authority is possible. Such a thing rarely occurs, but when it does there is no remedy, except that it may be possible to induce the Monegar to alter his decision by means of a judiciously administered bribe.

595 622 627 681 622 627 684 Owing to the existence of polyandry and ideas connected with it, things that would be regarded by other peoples as the gravest offences against morality are tolerated or even approved of by Badaga public opinion. Offences against the curious rules for the regulation of family life that obtain among the Badagas are brought to the village Monegar, who punishes the culprits by inflicting fines upon them. But however lax the Badagas may be in their ideas of morality within the family, they regard with the greatest displeasure and visit with the severest punishment any one who goes astray with a man of another caste, even though he be of the Brahman caste. The village Monegar conducts an enquiry, and if he finds the guilt of the accused person proved, he pronounces sentence of excommunication, and the unfortunate woman loses her caste and is driven from the community.

622 627 586 [623] 586 The village Monegar is also president of the divorce court—for, as was stated in my previous article, divorce, which is not uncommon in the Badaga community, can, after the cord-tying ceremony has been performed, be granted only by a regular decision of the Monegar and his village council. If a man and his wife do not like one another they have to bring the matter before the Monegar. He assembles a court, and himself acting as its president sanctions a separation or deals with the matter otherwise. If separation is ordered the person who is to take the divorced woman as his wife returns the *Sîla hanḍ* or cloth money (Rs. 1½), and the price originally paid to her by her first husband. The children, if there be any, belong to the father. The woman if she dislikes her second husband may apply for a second separation. Society does not look upon her as a bad woman because of these divorces or separations, and recognises all her children as lawfully born Badagas.

621 622 623 One more illustration may be given of the functions of the Monegar and the village council. If any Badaga family becomes very

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621 622 623 poor and unable to maintain itself, the village Monegar himself by his own authority or on the representation of the fact by some of the villagers calls a council, and as its head directs that each well-to-do Badaga family of the village shall give to the destitute Badaga so (735) much of their property—land, grain, vessels, houses, &c. This custom is of special interest as showing how much vitality the idea of joint property still possesses, an idea specially characteristic of the old village-community system. The importance of the Monegar and of the village council in all matters affecting the social life of the Badaga community also throws some light on its original constitution. In all the cases referred to above nothing can be done without that important functionary, the Monegar, and in everything affecting the existence of a Badaga in his village the Monegar's word is law.

761 (766) We have now traced a Badaga from his birth onwards, and it only remains to describe the rites that are performed on the occasion of his death and funeral. If the person who has died is less than five years old, there is no elaborate ceremonial, but in the case of others the funeral rites are both elaborate and interesting.

763 As soon as all hope of recovery is gone, the dying man is given a gold coin (*Virarâyan panam*), dipped in ghee, to swallow. The relations feel happy if he swallows it, for they think that that money will be serviceable to him in the other world. If he is unable to swallow it, it is tied round his arm. Let us suppose that

764 he has drawn his last breath and let us trace the after rites. If the person that is dead is a married man, the parents or other relatives of the wife are already in attendance for the occasion and present her with a cloth, of any colour except white, worth Rs. 5. This is called the *Mukkâdu* cloth and is meant to cover her face while weeping. It is thus almost equivalent to the mourning dress of the widow in modern civilized nations. All the wife's jewels, which consist of a gold *Mûkkutti*—nose ring—*Velli Surupaṣi*—silver hand-bangle—and a pair of finger-rings, are removed. Her *Kaḍukkan*—ear-ring—alone is left on her. Unlike the custom of other Hindu societies the dead body remains inside the house till the time of its removal and is not removed to the threshold as soon as life is extinct, but the relatives do not eat till the body is about to

763 be removed from the house. News is sent out at once to all the

564 neighbouring villages of the death that has occurred and people begin to pour in. The death news is carried by the Torayas, who perform many services for the Badagas for all of which they receive

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763 payment. They are the lowest of the Baḍaga castes and are regarded as the sons of the five high castes. As soon as the Toraya 564 who carries the sad news approaches a Baḍaga village he removes his turban, so that the very sight of a Toraya without a turban on his head is a sign that he is bringing tidings of death, and the people gather round him at once and hear the news.

535 The Kôtas, the hill-musicians, come down now with their shrill music. Then a curious dance commences and the more vehement 764 the dance, the happier it is thought will be the soul of the departed (648) in its transit to the other world. It lasts from morning to evening, (715) and Torayas and Baḍagas including the near relatives of the dead Baḍaga take part in the dance. No woman mingles in the funeral dance if the dead person is a man, but if the deceased [562] is a woman, one old woman, the nearest relative of the dead, takes part in it. This is as it were a notice to the mourners who come to join in the funeral as to whether the dead person is a man or a woman. If no woman is seen in the party of dancers the visitors infer before reaching the house that it is a man that is dead, while if they see a woman among the dancers they know that it is the funeral of a woman that is being performed. Only Torayas mix (648) in the dance with the Baḍagas. The Kôtas who are the musicians on this occasion are not allowed to do so, for they are considered to be of inferior, in fact, of the very lowest position. Some of the men that take part in the dance wear a curious long coat. When one has danced for a considerable time, he takes off the robe and hands it over to someone else who continues the exercise till he too has had enough of it. Whether this special dress has any peculiar significance I cannot say at present. The Torayas then fetch green 764 boughs and twigs from the neighbouring *sholas* and a car five feet long, three feet broad and eight feet high is constructed. When everything is ready all the people assembled go and show their (564) respect for the corpse by touching it on the head. The Torayas alone touch the feet and worship the departed Baḍaga, an indication that they are rather servants than equals of the departed. The corpse is then brought out of the house to a cot placed outside. The agnatic kindred then wash it by pouring water over it and decorate it. Already preparations have been made for a grand feast and before the removal of the corpse every one eats (774) his dinner, except perhaps the nearest relatives of the dead. This is to our ideas a most repulsive custom, and the only defence in favour of it is the belief they have that this feast refreshes the

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764 (774) soul of the dead person. The same custom prevails among the Lingayats of Maisûr, and this is an additional proof of the theory that the Badagas are colonists from that country. After this is over, all lift up the corpse and place it inside the car to the accompaniments of a volley of Kôta music and a display of Toraya dancing. The whole procession now marches towards the burning ground, and at a little distance from it a curious ceremony takes place. The wife here takes leave of her departed husband. A small piece of wire from her left ear-ring and a similar bit of wire from her right ear-ring are taken out by one of the agnatic kindred of the dead person, and these are placed in the palm of her hand along with a small palm-leaf roll. She rolls all these three up in a corner of her departed husband's cloth and knots them by a thread. She returns home then with music and dancing. This may indicate her sending away her husband to the other world with symbolical indications of her own relationship to him in this world.

After the wife has thus left, another still more curious ceremony is performed. A large mud vessel containing several kinds of grain, cooked rice and ghee is brought. The eldest woman of the family of the dead—mother or grand-mother, if they are alive—mix these up and make small balls of the mixture. The first ball is given to the eldest agnatic kinsman alive, who receives it with a knife. The other balls, thirty-one, forty-one, fifty-one, or sixty-one in number, are taken by different persons. The empty mud vessel is taken up by the old woman on the end of a reaping-hook; they all march round and round the dead body with these balls; all the males go round by the right and the females by the left; each one throws his ball on the head of the corpse which becomes almost covered up by them; the old woman breaks the mud vessel at its feet. The meaning of this curious ceremony as the Badagas interpret it is that enough has been done for the departed and that the dead man's connection with those alive has entirely ceased by the breaking of the pot. The old woman who broke the vessel now turns towards the river without entering the burning ground, and all the other women too who have up to this point followed the procession now turn towards the river to bathe.

(774) After this ceremony, the dead body is carried on the car to the burning or burying ground. Of the six classes of Badagas, three, the Kaṇakas, the Uḍayas and the Adhikâris, bury their dead and the other three burn.

So far the ceremonies are the same, both in burying and in

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764 burning the dead. A calf is then given as a present to some of the agnatic kindred and the calf-given is male or a female, according (431) as the person that is dead is a man or a woman. Then the corpse is carried on to the ground where it is to be buried or cremated. On the way the following recitation of sins of the dead is made with 539 prayer that they may be all excused. This almost amounts to the 782 *Sarvaprâyaśchitta* of the Hindus, which however is performed when 764 the person is in his last stage and before his death, or the confession of the Roman Catholic Christians. The name of the dead party comes first; the sins are enumerated and pardon requested. Many enumerations are made according to the cleverness of the people 539 assembled. One such enumeration of the sins which are considered the most important is given below:—

Śevani śettadu śâvu
Bannige danakaru Jenniye
Teru Tirupadi onduge
Martiyalôgadandu
Mahâlôgaga payaṇa
Ivarê hettu hettappa mâḍiyadu
Ivare avvappa mâḍiyadu
Ivariddu mâḍiyadu
Sarvannûru pâpa haṭṭaliyu
Basavanapâda sêdu hôgali
Aritamaga anna koḍadadu
Beratamaja bekki koḍaḍadu
Târi toriyanda maga kâḍa toriyadu
Anna tammana agala mâḍiyadu
Tiṭṭa tivara ottiyadu
Urida kichchaga uchchu hoydadu
Sarvannûrupapa haṭṭaliyu
Chinnada kambuga chêḍu
Beṭṭiya kambuga oradu
Karamadu manê kaḍa muchchali
Darmada manega dâri buḍali
Hâna bê muchchali
Milapâla bigêli
Saggada hadi tareli
Savundaru nireli
Andu koṭṭa Birumanapâda hiḍidu
Indu puṭṭu Basavanapâdu hiḍidu
Śiva śandânaga śerili Chorus *Hâgê,*

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539 which may be freely translated thus:—'This is the death of Śevani (a Baḍaga female). In memory of her, Jannige the she-calf of the buffalo Bannige is given in donation to atone for her sins. She goes now in a car from this mortal world to the great world (heaven). All the one hundred sins committed by the ancestors of this person, committed by the ancestors of the ancestors of this person, all the sins committed by this person herself, *viz.*, not giving of cooked rice as food to the son in distress, the not giving of fire to the neighbour, the sin of having pointed out the wilderness, and so led into difficulty the son who wanted to know the way, the sin of having ruined brothers and sisters, the sin of having taken away others' property and houses, the pouring of water on a blazing fire—may all these one hundred sins be washed away by this person coming in contact with the gold pillar[1] and by her rubbing herself against the silver pillar.[1] May the door of the house of Karma (Fate) be shut up against this person. May the door of the house of Dharma (Meritoriousness) be open to this person. May the devils and other evil beings cease their mischief to this person. May the Milapâla thread become tight to enable the soul of this one to walk over it and reach the heavens. May the door of the world of happiness (Sagga-Svarga) be open to this person. May this person become resplendent with beauty, by taking hold of the feet of that Brahma,[2] and by taking hold of the feet of this Basava[2]. May this one reach the holy presence of Śiva.' All say 'May it be so.—Amen'.

764 Let us suppose that the burial ground is reached, and that the Baḍaga in the case before us belongs to a caste that is accustomed to bury its dead. The eldest of the agnatic kindred fixes a crowbar on the south side of the corpse. All the other Baḍagas now join him in digging a big oblong pit to contain the dead body. The body is then taken round this pit and is placed in it with its face turned [824] towards the north. Four twigs of the Apâmârga (Tamil Nâyuruvi—*Achyranthes aspera*) are planted at the four corners of this oblong [237] pit. A lighted lamp made of cowdung and filled with oil is placed [372] beside the head of the corpse and threads are passed diagonally

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[775] [1] Gold and silver pillars are supposed to exist in the other world and the soul of the dead by coming in contact with these is believed to wash away all its sins.

[776] [2] Gods in whom the Baḍagas believe in this world. Basava is regularly worshipped. Śiva is the highest god in their mythology and through the worship of Brahma and Basava they reach him in the end.

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764 over the four twigs. The eldest relation now descends into the pit and performs his last act of worship to the dead body by lighting [237 372] (or rather throwing into the fire) perfumes. This ceremony is called *Milapâla*—the passing of the thread (of the manes over the dead man.) Several petty things are then placed in the grave. First of all a *Linga*, which is supposed to give to the dead eternal felicity in the other world. Then come a small gold coin called *Virarâyapaṇa* of the old Maisûr mint, a milking vessel a bambu measure, rice and other condiments, a stick with a silver knob, an umbrella and a new basket are also placed in the grave. These are supposed to be of service to the departed individual in the other world. Whatever may be omitted, the *Linga* and the *Viraraiyapaṇa*, the bambu measure and the milking vessel (*Hoṇe*) must always be placed in the grave. Even the poorest Badaga must not grudge these to his dead relation.

After all these arrangements are completed and the dead body is thus provided with what it needs for its journey to the other world all stand round the grave and the eldest son, or the nearest agnatic kinsman if there is not a son, takes three handfuls of earth and pronounces the following *mantra* or incantation :—

Jatige śêru janage śêru
Hettu hettappane śêru
Mutta muttappunê śêru :

'Mix on with your class, mix on with your people, mix on with your forefathers and mix on with the forefathers of your forefathers' All pronounce this and throw down three handfuls of earth each. The meaning is plain ; the soul of the departed is requested to join the souls of the forefathers of the family who have already departed from this life. Then the grave is covered up. In thus covering up the grave the earth must not be passed between the two legs of the person who throws it in. Then five small stones are placed over the closed grave, one at each of the four corners and one in the middle. The spade which was used in digging the grave is stuck to its handle in a reversed position and is dragged from south to north and cast away. All the men then proceed to the river, bathe, and return to their homes by dark. When they return home a lamp 778 is lighted and is worshipped by every one of these persons. It may 787 here be mentioned incidentally that the worship of lighted lamps is a characteristic feature of the Badaga religion. In every house [354] the lighted lamp is worshipped, and it is a belief among them that if a light dies out of itself in a house every kind of prosperity will

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quit the family. Thus a Badaga will never sleep with a light in his house, but before he goes to bed worships it and then carefully extinguishes it. A grand feast is given that night by the agnatic kindred or by a son of the dead person to which all come to eat. Both in the river and in the house the *Liṅga* is worshipped by the Badagas if they are of the Lingayat class.

The feast closes the first day's funeral rite of the Badagas. The second day's ceremony is a simple affair. It is what is called the pouring of the milk over the grave. On the morning of the second day the eldest mourner of the family starts to the burial place with five measures of the *Koraṭi* grain tied up in his cloth and a big new pot containing milk.

Worship is performed to the stone placed in the middle of the grave and the milk from the new pot is poured over it. The son pours it first and then the others follow him in turn. Each of those assembled there then takes up a handful of the *Koraṭi* grain and pronouncing the words *Avvappane śeru*—'Mix yourself with your forefathers'—they cast it over the middle stone all at once. All then march round from south to north and touch the five stones. They then proceed to the river, where, after having been shaved—even their moustaches are removed as an indication of their deep mourning,—they all bathe. They then worship the *Liṅga* there and return home where the same act of worship is again performed, and this brings to a conclusion the ceremonies of the second day.

The third day is a very important day and the funeral rites of the dead may be said to close with it. At 1 A.M. on that day four plantain leaves, four measures of rice, four measures of bean-seed and four new pots are made ready in the dead man's house. All gather there round a *Kerachi*—a bronze pan used for frying grain, &c. Paddy is poured into this *Kerachi* by the agnatic kindred and by a son of the dead person, while five females, the wife not joining, stir it up with reaping hooks. The *Kerachi* is already placed upon a lighted fire; and while the paddy is thus being turned up the wife mourns outside with loud wailings. A handful of straw from the outside thatch of the house is brought in and lighted up in the hall —*edirmane*. The four new pots, four plantain leaves, &c., are passed over it. Five or three youngsters hold the pots, while the elders utter the following prayer :—

Hâl hechchali han hechchali
Kuḍi hechchali payil hechchali,

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'May milk increase, money increase, offspring increase, and harvest increase'. The pots are then passed over the fire and thereafter taken to the river. Fresh water is fetched; the paddy is husked and the rice is cooked with salt and plantains without milk. The cooked food is now placed on the four plantain leaves. All bathe as soon as the cocks are heard crowing, worship the *Liṅga* or light, as the case may be, and deposit the food spread on the plantain leaves in the *Hâgôfu*—milk room. All the people assembled stand outside. The eldest member of the village asks the question whether all are in attendance for the occasion—*Ellâru banddiddârâ*. 'Yes' is the reply, when the following prayer is uttered :—

Enduṇâ dinadu
Naṅga muttavar naſaku
Bettavar naſaku
Naṅga Naſadaṇa
Hostu haſadallu
Haſalu hostalla,
Talai hotta guṇdilla
Mola hotta heṇṇillâ.
Jâtiki śêrili.
Janaka śêrili kulakke śêrili
Kôvû

which may be freely translated thus:—'We have acted now as our forefathers and the forefathers of those forefathers acted. Neither new nor old rites have we performed now; but only those which were observed from time immemorial. No man or woman lives for ever. May this individual mingle then with his creed and clan and may he live happy in the other world'. All utter this. Then the eldest member eats a handful of rice and the others also do the same in their turn. This eating is called the eating of the *Hiṇdiya kûfu*—the tasting of the funeral rice and is considered a great sign of attachment and caste union. He who does not partake of this rice is neither a good friend nor a relation, which fact has been crystallized into a proverb :—

Hiṇdiya kûfu timbuvavanô
Setta kula ettuvavana nî endu adhiya.

'What are you, you fool? Are you one who has partaken of the funeral rice with me, or one who has with me accompanied the dead body!' This is said of one who, without showing in these practical ways the attachment that should exist between relations, pretends

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538 (764) to be a near relation among the Badagas. Thus closes the third day of the funeral rites of the Badagas.

764 (783) The third day's ceremony is a curious and significant ceremony. The lighting up of the fire inside the house and the handful of straw brought from the outside thatch to kindle it are nothing but the simple ways of purifying a polluted house which the high-caste Hindus employ on various occasions. The wife mourning outside, while the grain is being turned up in the *Kerachi*, shows her grief at the idea that her lord had become a spirit among the departed spirits and that all his connection with this world has entirely ceased. (783) The passing of the pots over the fire are means adopted to purify the vessels and the house after the pollution caused by the death. During the first two days of mourning the milk-house may not be entered, but on the third day it may be once more used. There the first rice is spread in order that it may acquire some of the purity of the spot and it is there that the feast of friends and relatives is held that is considered to be the most binding tie and the greatest token of friendship and caste union.

In the case of those who cremate the dead body the ceremony of the first day is almost the same as with those who bury, though there are certain differences. Up to the end of the confession the ceremonies are all the same. The car is taken to the cremation ground where a big fire has been lit and kept ready. At some little distance from the fire a spot is chosen for cremating the body, and at the place chosen a pit is dug. The pit is then filled up with firewood and the body to be cremated is placed over it. It is covered up with fuel.

(768) (556) When the corpse is placed on the funeral car it is sometimes placed with the cot also and sometimes without it. When it is taken to the funeral pile, it is taken also with the cot and sometimes without it; when the former is done the cot also is cremated. Only well-to-do Badagas cremate the cot along with the dead body; in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases the cot is not cremated. If it is the body of a female the brother or brothers or some one of her blood relations tear up into three parts lengthwise a new cloth six cubits long and tie the pieces round the body in the region of the heart before placing it on the pile.* (121) It is difficult to get the meaning of this custom from the Badagas, but we may guess

* This is termed *Likattavadu*, meaning tying up tight.

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764 the meaning of it from the analogy of Hindu custom; it is to keep the body and soul together till the ceremonies are over. [121] Why it is not done to the dead bodies of men, it is difficult to understand.

When thus the body is placed on the pile the nearest relative—
539 the son in case there is one—takes a handful of burning fuel from the big pile which has been kept burning and applies it to the head
764 of the pile with the following incantation :—

Hetta hettappa
Muttê muttappa mâḍida dharmanda
Ennavvê nappaga nâ huṭṭi
Ennavê (or appa) śetta śâvugê
Nâ tappadê tale koḷḷi bittanê
Sarvannurâ Dêva ariya,

meaning :—'According to the course adopted by my ancestors and the ancestors of those ancestors, I, in justice to my having been begotten by my father and mother, and without failing to do what is needful, now ignite the funeral pile of my mother (or father) at the head, while all the hundred gods bear witness to it'. This is called
764 *Take-Koḷḷi*—igniting the pile at the head. These are the chief differences in the first day's ceremony in the case of cremating the body, but it should be observed that no stones are placed as in the case of burials.

There is more difference in the ceremonies of the second day between cremation and burial. In cases where cremation has taken place the nearest agnatic relation goes to the burning ground on the following morning with five measures of *korali*, and a small quantity of ghee in a cup, made of the leaves of the castor oil plant. All the villagers follow him with new pots. Water is brought and poured over the pile. The bones are collected and placed on wild ferns, and ghee is mixed with the bones. Three persons hold the bones in their extended hands, while all the persons who have assembled there stand in a row. The bones are passed round and
(539) every one touches them by way of respect and throws over them *korali* grain with the following incantation :—

Sâvu nilili
Kêḍu nilili
Sakala oḷḷidu âgali
Muttê muttappara dharmandavu
Betta bettappara dharmandavu
Baga Bandigi seṛali;

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764 (539) 'May deaths cease, may sorrows cease, may everything be for our good; by the meritoriousness of our ancestors and by the meritoriousness of the ancestors of our ancestors. May this person (that has died) mingle with them':

After the bones have thus been passed round they are taken by (539) the three who displayed them and buried in a pit built of stone in the cremation ground with the following incantation:—

Doḍḍavar kunnavar śatli hatla
Akâlânda ikâlaga śattavakar śatli hatla
Kâṭṭû kuṭumba ellâ ondâgi hoṛali

'May the young and the old that have died, may all persons who have died from time immemorial up to the present time—may all these mingle into one'.

There is no difference at all as to the ceremonies observed on the third day. Those Baḍagas who cremate their dead perform exactly the same ceremonies on that day as those who bury.

121 We have thus examined as far as is possible the origin of the Baḍagas, and have seen that they are most probably immigrants from Maisûr. We have noticed the chief characteristics of the race and have traced a Baḍaga from his birth to his funeral. It has not been possible to give an account of all the ceremonies and customs of this interesting people but the main ones have been described, and it will be seen that they are essentially those of an agricultural people. It has been seen how prominent a place the buffalo and 796 the *Hâgôṭu* or milk-house hold in their religious ceremonies. To 241 those already mentioned may be added the ceremony which takes place at the beginning of harvest when the first bundle of ripe ears of corn is brought home, husked, cooked with milk, placed in the 181 *Hâgôṭu* and eaten. The wants of the Baḍaga are few and his aspirations may be summed up in the following words:—*Kattadda erumê kareli bittu holu ellâ beḷeli*: 'May our buffaloes give us calves and may the fields yield us harvest'.

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

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